

582 (Exceptions to this occur in the case of men who have several
 [595] wives, their later acquisitions being sometimes much younger than the husbands.) It will be remembered that parallel cousins are classed with siblings, with whom marriage is forbidden, and that cross-cousins (*pi'an*) are taboo relatives, marriage between whom, though falling short of incest, is viewed with decided disapproval, and this although the individuals belong to different clans. These restrictions, taken together, rule out marriages between all the people who appear in the tables of relationship terms. It follows that a man's wife must be chosen from outside his relations on both sides of the house. As a matter of fact, the more distant extensions of the terms are not always kept in mind, especially if the people concerned live in a far-off village, so that if all the genealogies were followed back for another generation or two, intermarriages would doubtless be brought to light. But these would be incidental, and would not invalidate the system as here described, since the relationships are not considered by the individuals concerned in arranging the marriage. Intermarriages between relatives do occasionally occur, but the amount of care taken to impress upon me that they were irregular, in such examples as I came across, shows that they are never taken as a matter of course. Some of these have already been mentioned. Another, possessing unusual features, is perhaps worth detailing at some length.

582 A girl named Pariban fell in love with a young man named
 588 Paribuin, and persuaded him to have intercourse with her in the
 [836] bush. The two were caught, and there was great consternation on the part of their elders, because they stood to each other in the relationship of *toevnē*—owing to the fact that their maternal grandmothers were sisters. Finally they were permitted to marry in spite of this. But the rest of the lineage group were very angry, and in revenge Sarumpots, the grandson of another sister, seized Gomar, the (actual) sister of Paribuin (to whom he stood in exactly the same relation as Paribuin did to Pariban), while she was working in the taro garden, and forced her to have intercourse with him. When it was settled that Parabuin was to be allowed to marry Pariban, Sarumpots married Gomar, but great stress was laid by my informants on the fact that this marriage would not have been possible had it not been for the other. Once these marriages had taken place the matter was considered regularized, and on Parabuin's death without children Pariban duly became the wife of [i.e., marriages generally being with mates of the same generation. — Analyst]

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his brother Palen, who, of course, was also her *wevni*. To him she bore a son Sankuro, who was given his rightful position as *transun* as though his mother's marriage had been perfectly in order. Sankuro is now a boy of sixteen or thereabouts, so that this affair must have taken place upwards of twenty years ago. But from the vividness with which the whole story was related to me, it must have made a great impression on the village. On the death of Sarumpots, the other protagonist in the drama, his wife Gomar, passed in the natural course of events to his brother Pinari, again her *wevni*, whose chief wife she now is, having succeeded to that position after the death of his first wife. The unravelling of the relationship terms involved in the genealogy of this family puzzled me very much, until the mystery was cleared up by the recital of the story given above (see Fig. 6).¹ The fact that the relationship was two generations removed took this marriage out of the category of incest. Had the two couples concerned been blood brothers and sisters, it would under no circumstances have been allowed. I heard of no case of actual brother-sister incest, neither does any instance of it occur in any of the stories in my collection.

Incestuous unions are, however, by no means absent. The worst form of incest is between a man and his sister's daughter (the *trio* - *para* - relationship). A case of this kind occurred in the village of Kurtatchi some little time before my visit. Wasalau, a man notorious for his sexual laxity, raped his sister's daughter, Pooska, scarcely more than a child. She had a baby, which died at birth. There was a great scandal over the affair. Wasalau was banished from the village by Pinari (who openly regretted that the restrictions imposed by the white man prevented him from putting a spear through him), and will never dare to show his face in it again. Pinari subsequently arranged a marriage for Pooska with the brother of one of his own wives, with whom she now lives, apparently happily.

No case of mother-son incest came within my own experience, but the names of two men, now dead, were given to me as having attempted it without success. It finds a place in my collection of stories, some of which are clearly 'founded on fact', though others are as clearly imaginative or legendary.

Sexual intercourse between father and daughter would appear to occur not infrequently, especially where fully grown daughters, married to men away working as indentured labourers, continue

¹ [See cont. 116, p. 69. - Analyst]

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595 been dead for some years. Pinari had nothing to say about these two women.

[586] 5, 6. Esa and Tchinawat. Both these women were divorced by Pinari shortly after marriage because they did not get on with his chief wife Rusu. Pinari said he told them: 'If you are not cross you can stay, if you are cross you can go back to your own home, I don't like you any more.' Eventually his brother Boie married both of them; when he died they went back to their own village. Both are now dead.

7. Gomar. Was married as a child to Sarumpots, the son of Pinari's mother by another husband. He was eaten by a shark before she had any children by him. This marriage was highly irregular (it is discussed on p. 76), but having taken place, Pinari's succession to her as his brother's widow was quite in order. She is now Pinari's chief wife, since the death of Rusu. Pinari liked her, and made magic to gain her love. They seem to get on very well together, though she now takes second place in his regard, I think, to Kwimau. Her first child died when a few days old. The second is now in her early twenties. Then she lost four in infancy, and has now an infant about a year old.

[588] 8. Kwimau, whom he married after nos. 5 and 6 had been divorced. This marriage was also irregular, since she is Pinari's mother's brother's daughter (*pi'an*), usually a forbidden relationship (see Chap. II). Pinari says they liked each other so much that he had to take her. She is markedly his favourite; he usually occupies her hut, shows her great deference, and chooses her as his companion on various occasions. She has two sons by him, both still quite little.

[837] 9. Kumun. A commoner belonging to this village. She married a man belonging to a village about ten miles off, and lived there till he died. Then she came back to live with her grandfather at Kurtatchi, and Pinari took a fancy to her and 'bought' her from him. She has had three children by her first husband and one by Pinari, but all are dead. She has a reputation for carrying on intrigues with other men, and after one of the villagers was found in her hut, Pinari took her away to live at the taro garden for a long time. When I left she was pregnant. Pinari declared the child was not his, but she refused to admit that any one else was responsible for it. Pinari was very angry about it, but it seemed to me to be more because his dignity was outraged by the fact that some one had dared to interfere with his—the *tsunaun's*—wife, in his own hut, than because he cared much for Kumun. She is, I think, very highly sexed, and was much freer with speech and gesture in public than most of the women. She is known to make assignations for other women with their lovers.

10. Kamits. Had been the wife of a man named Soli, by whom she

* The magic he used is recorded on p. 131.